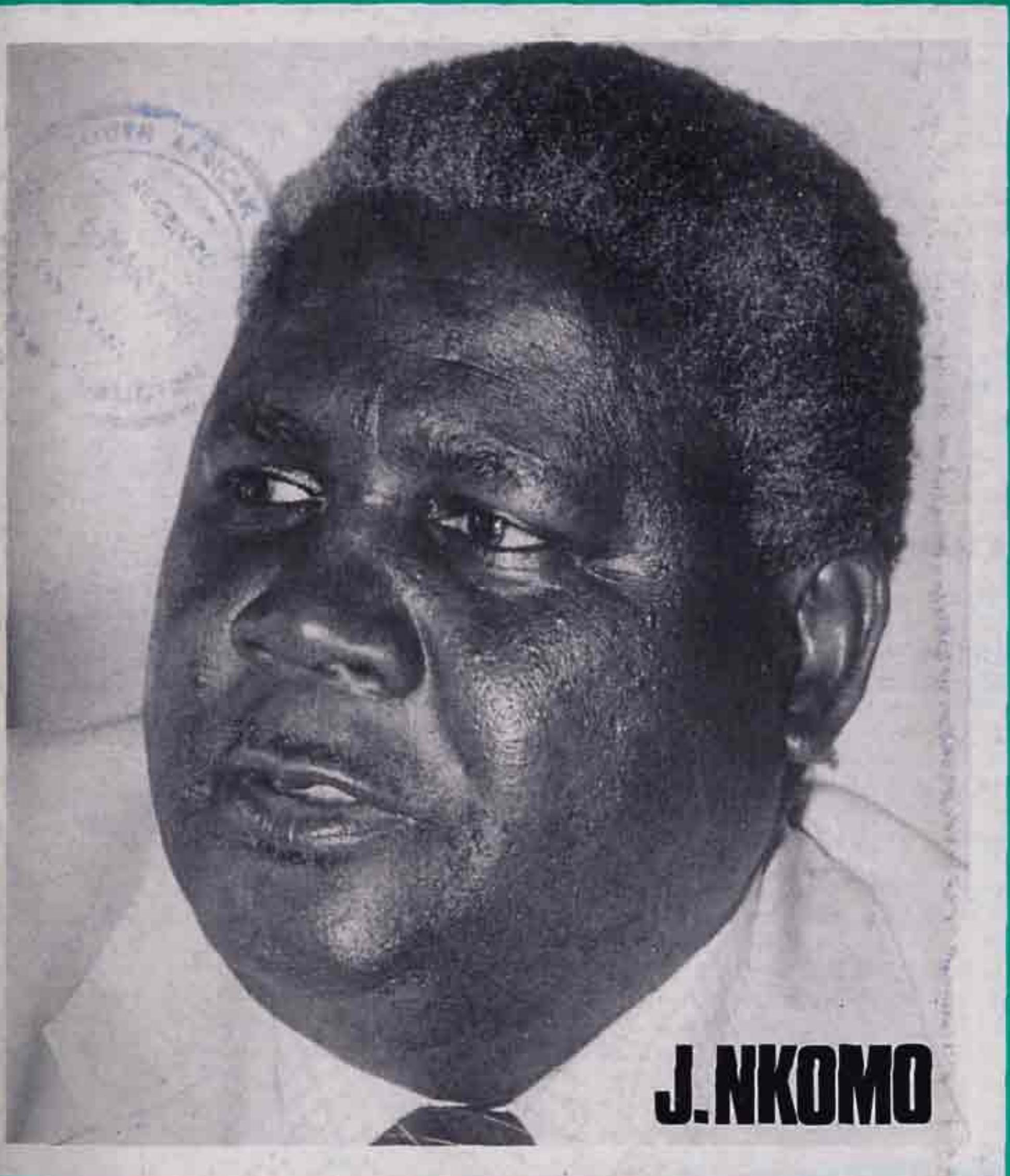


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official organ of the african
national congress south africa



J. NKOMO

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28 Penton Street
London N1 9PR
Telegrams: Mayibuye
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DID YOU KNOW THAT?

More than 50 per cent of deaths among African and Coloured people in South Africa are children under the age of 5: this is six times the rate of the white population. The main causes of infant mortality rates are gastro-enteritis and pneumonia—the two diseases accounted for 60 per cent of the deaths. Kwashiorkor, measles etc are all diseases related to malnutrition.

- * In the Eastern Cape one in four black babies born in the area now face death before they are 12 months old
- * "vagrant" children in Namibia (outside Windhoek) usually fight with baboons for scraps of food on municipal rubbish dumps.
- * that Bishop Tutu, when he asked a little Ciskei girl what happens when her mother was not able to borrow food, the girl replied: "We drink water to fill our tummies".
- * that 60 per cent of the 12 year old school-children in Soweto are under weight.
- * That teachers at some black schools in the Pietermaritzburg area have been shocked to find pupils eating newspapers to still their hunger pains.
- * that it costs R1,000 a month to treat a malnourished child in hospital in South Africa. R5 a month for fortified milk powder would prevent treatment.

These facts speak for themselves. Those who think that the Botha regime is "doing away with apartheid", introducing "reforms" are advised to look at the position of the black man first and not at what Botha is saying.

Specialists tell us that during the next 12 months malnutrition and associated diseases will claim more lives—up to 100,000 children. As things are now pediatric beds are filled with children

suffering from malnutrition; children lie under the beds as there is no room on top; medical workers have broken down under stress. Inflation (estimated at 17 per cent), rising food prices (consumption of staple products such as maize and wheat has dropped) and unemployment have contributed to this.

Amongst the whites jogging is a national pastime because of extravagant eating habits; slimming advertisements are to be seen in all white papers.

This is happening in a country where sections of the community do not know where the next meal is coming from; where doctors save children from death; that is children who go back to live under the same social conditions that brought them into hospital.

O.R. Tambo was having this state of affairs in mind when he said:

"1979 is the International Year of the Child. What is a child in our country? There are two types of children; a child with a country, parents, with a school to go to, with a job when he finishes, with a right to rule his country; a child who is sustained by the labour and sweat of the parents of another child — a black child, who has no parents to live with, no schools to go to, no future to look forward to, despised, ostracised and driven to Bantustans or suffocated in the congestion of Soweto and other places. The black child who dies by the hundreds and thousands each year, has no future except in the seizure of power by the people of South Africa. Then there would not be two children — there would be one child, one country, one state."

THE ENEMY WILL BE DEFEATED





Tractor wrecked by racist Rhodesian forces in attack on Mozambique, September 79'

Recently Sechaba interviewed Comrade Joshua Nkomo, President of ZAPU and Co-leader of the Patriotic Front, on the current situation in Zimbabwe.

Sechaba: Comrade President, looking at the present situation and how the Conference is going, does it satisfy you?

Nkomo: What is important is to be certain that we are moving in the right direction. When you do that you pass through thorny areas and whether we get there will depend on our ability to cross all the hurdles that are on our way.

In a given situation—don't forget we are guerrilla fighters—you take cover. When you take cover, you do this in order to make advances. We are in that situation now.

Sechaba: An impression has been created in this country that the Patriotic Front is taking a moderate line—perhaps due to pressure? They usually refer to the issue of the white minority?

Nkomo: No! This is a deliberate thing. Distortion. When you talk to them, say on T.V.,

they cut it off. They want it to be so; they want to create a myth that the Front Line states actually direct the Patriotic Front. It is in them. They are more interested at what they want to call a contradiction between the Patriotic Front and the Front Line states. They are working towards that. Look, we are with the Front Line states; we are together for a free Africa. It is a question of supporting the liberation movements in which they believe: they do not direct us or push us to do things.

Secondly, we are dealing with racists—the British—people who believe in racism. We have tried to explain that what they call “white people” are to us part of our people. We are not racists. We told them. They say, yes, we accept that but there is a psychological problem with these people and we talk round and round this issue.

What we told the British is that if they are interested in our struggle they should not talk about a white minority—they should be talking about minorities but—because their minds are racially set they

talk about Europeans. We have in that country people of Asian origin and people of Arab origin and a number of people of other origins. Here we are dealing basically with people who are the source of racism in Southern Africa.

Here in this island of Britain there are people from the Caribbeans, from India and even from Africa—have they ever given them special seats in the House of Commons?

“Black majority”! We do not talk about “black majority” rule—we talk about majority rule. This is a British affair, we do not accept that.

Sechaba: The South African racist regime has given some indication that if the Patriotic Front government is elected then they would intervene militarily. What do you think about this?

Nkomo: They are not going to intervene militarily because the Patriotic Front have won. They are there in the country. Without South Africa there would be no Ian Smith. Therefore it will not be a new thing. But, remember, they are not made of iron. They are just ordinary human beings. Smith was as powerful as any other modern army but he is in tatters now. South Africa is not made out of stone. But if they interfere in our affairs then they are in trouble.

Sechaba: Comrade President, a lot of people here in Britain are surprised at the unity between ZAPU and ZANU. Have you any comment on this?

Nkomo: Ja...! You know people repeatedly draw a picture of you and tell you it is your picture. This is wrong: it is a distortion. I have come to believe that a picture is used no matter how many times you say this is not my picture. This is what is happening. The Western press have drawn a picture of the Patriotic Front and they believe it.

What is happening here (at this conference) is a true and correct picture of us. We have been doing it in the Patriotic Front and we, ZAPU and ZANU, have agreed to fight together as a unit within an alliance.

Sechaba: If the conference does result in proper elections being held will the Patriotic Front put forward their candidates or will it be ZAPU and ZANU candidates?

4 Nkomo: It will be Patriotic Front candid-

ates; it will be a Patriotic Front government; a unified government. It will not be a government of national unity. Ours will be a government of people who have merged and are working together in unity.

Sechaba: Zimbabwe is heavily dependent on the South African economy. What sort of relations do you expect to have with racist South Africa?

Nkomo: My problem is that we are completely dependent on South African economy not only in terms of transport as Mozambique but even more—equipment, technicians etc.

As a matter of fact we are likely to be in that situation for some time but in league with Mozambique we shall one day rule ourselves. Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique should be able to free themselves completely from South African influence. This can happen collectively. Zimbabwe cannot be free alone. Can Mozambique do it alone? What about Botswana? So this is a collective task of the regional governments of the area.

Sechaba: Back to Britain. What about sanctions?

Nkomo: Britain has never imposed sanctions on Rhodesia. Mrs. Thatcher talks about Britain lifting sanctions but Britain never imposed sanctions. Britain mounted a blockade of Beira when the British firms—oil companies—brought in oil from Mozambique and after the liberation of Mozambique this oil came through South Africa.

Sechaba: Comrade President, what is your message to the South African people?

Nkomo: Well, the message is always there: the battle that goes on in Zimbabwe is not only a battle for the people of Zimbabwe but for the people of Namibia and South Africa. We are fighting the same enemy. Fortunately for us it is an enemy of humanity: fascism and racism. Even those who are now supporting fascism and racism in South Africa fought with us against fascism and racism during the Second World War. This is due to the fact that they are extracting profits out of this crime against humanity.

One thing they should keep in mind is that the people cannot lose; a people's war is never lost. It may take a long time but



Part of a Rhodesian helicopter shot down by Mozambiquan anti-aircraft, September 79'

finally it will be won; no matter how powerful an enemy is, if that enemy is fighting against the interests of the people the enemy will be defeated. Look back to Vietnam, the Americans sent over 1/2 million of well equipped, sophisticated army to Vietnam: they were defeated by a

very small country with mostly primitive weapons. The only weapon the people of Vietnam had was the determination to be free and together we shall be free.

LETTER TO THATCHER

Text of a letter to Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, from Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC, Lusaka, August 3rd, 1979.

Your Excellency,

We are informed that the British firm PLESSEY is currently training in the UK members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the use of computers which form part of a radar surveillance system produced by PLESSEY. This system, which will be acquired from PLESSEY, is for use by the SADF possibly at its military factory which is based at Devon in the Province of the Transvaal.

As you can well imagine, we received this information with a good deal of amazement and shock that British nationals are still permitted to provide the racist South African regime with the means to deal death and destruction to the people of our country and of Southern Africa as a whole.

We are amazed because we had thought that the United Kingdom was bound by the mandatory arms embargo imposed against apartheid South Africa by the United Nations Security Council not to assist in any way in building up the war potential of racist South Africa.

Yet the projected delivery of the PLESSEY equipment will serve exactly the purpose of improving the capability of the apartheid regime to pursue its oppressive and aggressive purposes in South and Southern Africa and will, within the terms set by the Security Council resolution, directly exacerbate the threat to international peace and security that emanates from apartheid South Africa.

We had, Your Excellency, taken to heart

your words uttered only a few days ago that in its efforts to find an acceptable solution to the Rhodesian problem, the British Government sought also to see peace established in Southern Africa. We would like to believe that these words were an expression of a sincere determination on the part of the British Government to ensure by deed that its own actions and those of British nationals did in fact contribute to the establishment of peace in this region and not the escalation of the war situation which already exists.

At no time has any of the independent African States carried out military actions against South Africa nor are there plans for such actions. Your Excellency is surely aware of this. Yet there exists between apartheid South Africa and all the independent African States in this region an undeclared state of war, characterised by repeated acts of aggression against these African States by the South African armed forces acting both on their own and in collusion with the rebel Rhodesian forces. Our own people within South Africa have, like the British people in 1939, been forced to take up arms against a regime which is ineluctably oppressive, murderous and aggressive to bring about a result which guarantees democracy and peace for all the people of our country.

Taking all these considerations into account, it therefore came as a shock to us that members of the South African armed forces could be admitted into the United Kingdom, with the knowledge and approval of the Government of the United Kingdom and admitted for purposes of further preparing them to carry out their assassins' mission against the people of the whole of Southern Africa.

The conclusion becomes inescapable that your government has elected to stand

with the aggressor against the victims; to aid and encourage the white minority oppressor against the millions of African people in this region of Africa. The recent decision of your government enabling British oil companies to re-export oil to racist South Africa only serves to underline the justice of this conclusion.

In the name of the orphans and the widows, in the name of the thousands of the people of our country who have been killed with British arms for no reason other than that they are black and aspire like all human beings to a life of liberty, justice and equality, in the name of the millions of the oppressed people of South Africa and the people of Southern Africa as a whole, we appeal to the British Government and to you as its head to desist from aiding and abetting the apartheid regime

Accordingly we call on the British Government:

- * to expel the members of the South African Defence Force currently in Britain;
- * to forbid PLESSEY from supplying the South African Defence Force with any materials whatsoever;
- * to take all measures to ensure the observance of the arms embargo by all British nationals including British firms;
- * to prohibit the supply of oil and oil products to South Africa by British firms.

The establishment of peace in Southern Africa, an objective which all sane people in the world pursue, demands the implementation of these measures. We are convinced that the British Government will respond positively and expeditiously to this appeal.

GIRLS' CAMP

Girls' Camps

"Adventure camps" they are called. White girls aged as young as 11-15 years attend these camps which are run by Willie Rautenbach and his wife, both lecturers in Afrikaans at the University of the North (Turfloop). These are near Potgietersrus.

The parents send children to camps in the Percy Fyfe Nature Reserve, at R32 per child for a week. These kids are taught about "terrorism and communist threat to South Africa". Part of the programme includes:

- * formal discussion about political developments in South Africa and Rhodesia;
- * they learn to shoot "as part of their survival for the future";
- * terroristejag en skyfskiet (hunting terrorists and target shooting)—in these "terrorist" hunts they paint their faces black and the army and the police invariably win in these "games": "The dice is loaded against the terrorists".
- * Religious instruction is given by a dominee from, the N.G. Kerk (70 per cent of the kids are Afrikaans and 30 per cent are English speaking).

Schools advertise these camps and hand out brochures to pupils: pamphlets say nothing about political indoctrination in these camps.

It is paradoxical that in this International Year of the Child white Children in South Africa are taught how to chase "terrorists" as a play activity. "Terrorists" are by implication "communists" including practising christians in our movement. It is interesting to note that the ANC is organising inter-racial camps to promote sound race relations.

CHILDREN

Persons under 18 detained under security legislation in 1977 and 1978 = 500

of these 189 were charged
(and 119 were convicted)

of the 500, 87 were called as state witnesses

The rest 224 were released without being charged or witnesses.

Convictions	No. in Case	Outcome
Prohibited Gathering	10	4 cuts each
	3	3 cuts each
	3	2 cuts each
Conspiracy to arson	2	sentence postponed for 3 yrs.
	2	6 cuts each
	1	5 cuts each
	2	7 cuts each
	1	4 years (+ 2 yrs, for having explosives)
	2	1 year
	2	sentence postponed 5 years
Incitement to commit offence possession of machine gun	1	3 years (1 suspended)
	1	6 cuts
Intimidation of scholars	1	6 cuts (+ 5 years for robbery)
	1	5 months
	1	7 cuts
	4	6 cuts
	1	5 cuts
	2	sentence postponed for 5 yrs.
	1	9 months on two counts
possession of explosives	1	2 years
	2	4 months
Sabotage	3	3 years (1½ susp) each
	2	5 years each
Arson	1	8 cuts and 3 years (1¼ susp)
	2	3 years each
	1	3 years each
	1	8 cuts
	1	7 cuts
	2	6 cuts each
	1	3 years (1½ susp)
	3	18 months (susp)
	2	30 months (susp) each
	2	reform school
	1	5 years
	1	6 years
	1	18 months
	1	15 months (susp)

Arson	1	6 cuts (plus 7 cuts for malicious damage and 3 years (30 months susp) for conspiracy to cause explosion).
	1	sentence postponed
Public Violence	1	2 years (1 susp)
	1	7 cuts
	3	5 cuts each
	12	6 cuts each
	3	18 months (susp)
	3	Sentence postponed
	1	2 years (susp)
	1	8 years
	1	reform school
	1	8 months
	2	6 cuts and 3 years (susp)
	1	5 years (1½ susp)
	1	6 cuts + 18 months (susp)
	1	5 years
	+ arson and conspiracy	
Malicious Damage	1	2 years susp.
	2	Sentence postponed
	1	6 cuts
	1+ pv & robbery	27 months
Murder	1	8 years
	1	10 years
Murder	1	2 years
	1 + pv	14 years
Theft	1	1 year (susp).

SECURITY

Louis le Grange, Minister of Police, told a report back meeting in Edinburgh that South Africa was not "as peaceful internally as people think". Since January, he said, 317 people have been detained and that 168 trials involving national security have come before the courts in seven months.

Brigadier Jan Coetzee, chief of South Africa's Security Police said "intensified psychological warfare will be the trend in the 1980's—strikes, assassinations and war by remote control". Addressing 150

delegates at the South African Security Association's national conference in Johannesburg he said since October 1976, 170 guerrillas have been arrested; police found ½ton of explosives; 1076 detonators; 139 timing devices; 175 firearms, 34048 bullets and 376 hand grenades.

"During that time there have been 48 explosions—18 railway lines; 15 businesses, six private homes; five police stations; two government buildings and two power installations" he said.

BUS BOYCOTT

Since September 10 workers in Ladysmith are boycotting buses because the fares are up. Ladysmith has a work force of 9,500 workers. The tug of war continues: commuters continue to walk 40 kilometres to work and back everyday rather than pay increased fares and the transport company continues to run empty buses rather than reduce the fares. Emergency talks between officials of the Ezakheni Transport, police, black leaders and local leaders of commerce and industry do not help improve the situation. Elliot Mngadi, mayor of Ezakheni, the township outside Ladysmith, commented:

"The boycott is well-organised and proceeding peacefully".

Riot trucks and patrolling police have become a common sight in the township since the boycott began and school children have been stopped from joining their parents as this "might be mistaken for a repetition of Soweto".

It is important to note that bus fares increased by 70 cents, 85 cents and 95 cents a week to R3,40 while the workers earn R8 a week.

The stike and bus boycott is boiling over into widely separated parts of Natal: Marburg on the lower South Coast and Hammarsdale even Pietermaritzburg and Newcastle are affected.

Hundreds of women working for Consolidated Frame Cotton Corporation Limited slept in the open on plastic coverings outside the factory gates, between them and doing without running water even for washing themselves. Ladysmith can be bitterly cold especially at night. The women buy simple provisions from hawkers outside the gates and their husbands and children must fend for themselves.

At another factory, Dunlop, production closed down on September 11; the factory paid the workers and promised to re-employ them with the added offer of sleeping space on site for those who needed it.

It is interesting to note that Ezakheni Transport is owned jointly by the Industrial Development Corporation Kwa Zulu and the manager is I. Deshayes-McCourt.



DEFORESTATION

At the Transvaal National Party Congress in Pretoria pleas were made for safeguarding of areas in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal.

It was suggested that the Limpopo River near Messina should be introduced as an operational area; curfew to be introduced from 6 am to 6 pm everyday and certain areas in the Eastern Transvaal should be deforested as a form of "border protection". Besides patrolling of such zones minefields "and other alternatives" such as electronic systems should be introduced.

COLOURED UNITY

The Coloured Labour Party and the Freedom Party have joined forces to fight apartheid on a common front, said Mr. Louis Dewrance, Pretoria chairman of the Labour Party. He was referring to a "motion of concern" submitted to the Coloured Representative Council by the leaders of the two parties, Rev. H.J. Hendriekse (Labour Party) and W.J. Africa (Freedom Party). This alliance of the two parties, which had been at variance with each other for many years, was a "tremendous breakthrough"—the Coloured leaders stated.

The matters of concern agreed on by the two parties are:

- * South Africa must be governed by all its people;
- * The principle of equal rights must be accepted;
- * all discriminatory legislation is to be repealed as a matter of urgency;
- * all must share in the wealth of the country on a fair basis;
- * work opportunities be created and guaranteed for all;
- * all educational institutions to be opened on a free basis;
- * housing and security to be provided for all as an investment for stability;
- * all must strive for peace, friendship and co-operation;
- * land set aside for industrial, residential, farming and business purposes be available to any person capable of buying it without there being any legal restrictions to withhold ownership and rights;

The question of the defence of the country also featured in the discussions and the two parties agreed that South Africa must be defended by all its people as a common strategy against its enemies, provided that all enjoy full citizenship rights and that the Coloured people will defend South Africa "but in no way are we going to defend the right of the white man to exploit and



oppress the black man". Mr. Hendrickse said that the recent statements by Botha are aimed "at selfish orientation of Black people's thinking in order to perpetuate and preserve white domination".

Attacking separate institutions like the white Parliament Coloured Persons' Representative Council, Indian Council and "homeland" governments the motion goes further to demand that the Government should call a national convention representative of all South Africans to determine the principles essential for a new form of government acceptable to all South Africans.

David Curry, chairman of the Labour Party's national executive summed it all up:

"South Africa must be governed by all its people as decided at a national convention.

"The ANC must be unbanned and its leaders released from detention so that they can take their place at the conference table".

STATEMENT

by
Comrade Oliver Tambo

**PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (SOUTH AFRICA)
TO THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT
OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES**

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates,

We have already had the honour and privilege of addressing this historic assembly of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries on behalf of the national liberation movements. It now remains for me to intervene in the name of the African National Congress and on behalf of the objects of colonialism, apartheid, racism, fascism and brutal exploitation in South Africa.

The delegation of the African National Congress salutes Havana, this beautiful city of peaceful labour, social progress, enduring friendship and active solidarity. Today Havana, like the people of Cuba, has planted itself in the hearts of the hundreds of millions of people represented at this 6th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, because Havana this week carries within its city walls the potential power of more than 100 leaders of nations who, acting together in unity and with determination, can exert a positive influence on the course of world developments, especially when they have, as their helmsman and chief servant, the tried and tested leader of the victorious Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro Ruz.

What imperialism feared about the consequences of a Non-Aligned Summit being held in Havana, Cuba serving as chairman of the Movement, is precisely what gives the victims of imperialist domination great hopes about this Conference and the future.

We extend our warm congratulations to you, Comrade president, on your election.



Comrade President Oliver Tambo

History has entrusted you with the task of leading this great Movement into the decade of the 80's, confronting you with the challenge to set both the quality and the tempo of the struggle for that decade. Our confidence in your ability to meet that challenge is unbounded.

For the peoples of Southern Africa, the convening of this meeting in Havana has a

special significance. For we can never forget the first occasion in our history when troops crossed the oceans and came to our continent not to conquer, rob, pillage and plunder, but to help a people's fight for freedom, justice and liberation. The unique army that helped the people of Angola to repel the invaders from racist Pretoria came from Cuba and with their blood they cemented the bonds between Cuba and southern Africa, helped to defend the gains of our revolutionary struggles and laid the foundations for the greater victories which today, some four years later, we can justifiably claim.

In Southern Africa we are today engaged in wars of liberation necessary in order to achieve the realisation of the objectives which this Movement holds sacred and inviolate. The specific character of our struggle has been determined by the conditions in which we have had to conduct it. But the common objectives that link the peoples still struggling for liberation with those who have gained their independence arise from our shared experiences—experiences compounded of alien rule and economic exploitation.

All our peoples have without exception known the humiliation of living in a country which was our own, but which the superior power of alien and hostile forces had annexed and transformed into their patrimony. We have all known the indignity of living under rulers who tried to deny us a personality of our own, who decried our history and derided our cultural traditions; who allowed us no names and no future except to the extent that they chose, and such a future as accorded with the perpetuation of their own interests.

All our peoples also share the experience of resistance to colonialism. If we turn our minds back to the last decades of the 19th century and the opening years of the 20th, we find that with few exceptions we were all engaged in wars of resistance.

This was the period that saw the end of Spanish hegemony in Latin America and the early beginnings of the revolution launched by José Martí in Cuba. The people of Argentina, trying to end foreign domination of their economy, found themselves facing British gun boats. In Vietnam there

was a people's uprising, following the refusal of the King to ratify a treaty establishing a French protectorate. Throughout Africa our people were engaged in wars defending their land and countries against alien conquerors. It was in the course of these resistance wars in Africa that the British army suffered its greatest defeat at the Battle of Isandlwana in 1879, exactly 100 years ago this year.

The forms our struggle took varied, the uniforms worn by our enemies were different, and the alien flags that flew over our countries were numerous. Yet in essence we have all been struggling against the same forces, and we have all been fighting for the same thing—the right of our peoples to self-determination, to control their own land and wealth, to establish their own political systems and govern their own countries; to organise the economic and social relations in their society according to their own precepts and ethic, to live in peace guaranteed by an equitable world system of economic relations.

These aims are no different from the objectives formulated 18 years ago when the collective strength of the peoples who shared this experience and won their independence was harnessed into the Non-Aligned Movement. These are the same objectives that we share today, though formulated differently.

For as alien flags came down in so many countries, we came to learn that the objective to own and control our own resources and wealth remained unfulfilled and required new struggles—or rather the continuation of the same struggle. The ending of alien rule did not automatically usher in economic liberation, for the newly independent nations emerged into an international economic order that had been established, and whose structures and institutions had been designed, to ensure that wealth and resources would flow away from our peoples, and out of our lands into the coffers of our exploiters.

Our experience of the past and knowledge of the present has shown that imperialism does not accept defeat nor does it vanish when it loses direct political control, but rather it seeks new ways to achieve its goals. As the 4th Summit declared:

"Imperialism not only hampers the economic and social progress of developing countries, but also adopts an aggressive attitude towards those who oppose its plans, trying to impose upon them political, social and economic structures which encourage alien domination, dependence and neo-colonialism."

From their own experience the imperialist powers have learnt that a victory achieved in any part of the world becomes not only a triumph for all peoples fighting to remove the shackles of imperialist domination, but also a material factor in the creation of new possibilities for fresh successes against imperialist hegemony everywhere.

Hence imperialism is implacably opposed to all the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement, whether they concern the struggles of the peoples still fighting for their independence or the efforts to create a new international economic order.

Thus the liberation movements and the independent countries of the Non-Aligned Movement are joined not only by their common experience, but also by the fact that they share the present with common objectives and a common enemy.

Those who wish to deride the Non-Aligned Movement choose to interpret the term "non-aligned" as something purely negative and suggest that the *raison d'être* of our existence is to constantly assert that we belong to no side, to devote our efforts and our energies to walking a tightrope, to become a function of the changing relations between East and West, to submit ourselves to the constraints of a policy of avoidance.

Our submission is that the existence and strength of this movement lies in its consistent determination to stand firmly, unequivocally and unambiguously on the side of freedom, self-determination, and justice and to stand equally firmly, unequivocally and unambiguously against alien domination, dependence, economic exploitation, colonialism, racism, fascism and zionism; to be totally and uncompromisingly anti-imperialist.

Growth is the vital essence of a living organism. The Non-Aligned Movement has grown and continues to grow in a world becoming small as science and technology

advances. In this process, non-alignment establishes new contacts, finds new friends, forges new alliances out of the necessity to live, grow, engage in successful struggle and advance its cause—the cause of the people. Its vocabulary becomes enriched with words and concepts which may have sounded alien, even objectionable on an earlier day. What will not change is its anti-imperialist character, not while imperialism exists. The Non-Aligned Movement has its great founding fathers. We know what it is because we know how they are.

In tracing the South African struggle from the era of colonial conquest experienced by members of the Non-Aligned Movement, we have, in so doing, pointed to the colonial nature of our oppression in South Africa. It is, however, necessary to make the point that so arrogant, so brutal, so comprehensive and systematic is this oppression that it offends grievously against the very humanity of the indigenous and black majority of the people of South Africa. In addition it denies the humanity of the delegates to this Summit because it despises and demeans not just this or that nation but whole races and peoples of entire continents, the overwhelming majority of mankind.

Apartheid South Africa, the only country in the world which has codified the doctrine of racial superiority into a statutory system and which has established it as the basis of state ideology and policy, therefore constitutes a laboratory and a nursery of international racism. Here there are formed and nurtured the bacilli which continually feed the diseases of racist arrogance and racial discrimination. This fact was recognised by the United Nations General Assembly when it inaugurated the Decade of Struggle against Racism. Furthermore, the extremely serious national and international implications of the incidence of racism were recognised by the world community when it adopted, at the United Nations, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as well as the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. To ensure the fulfilment of the aims of both the United Nations and the

world community, the seed-bed of international racism, the South African regime, must be destroyed. This is what our struggle seeks to achieve.

At the heart of the South African problem is the economic position of the black majority of our country. Our struggle aims radically to alter the status quo with regard to this issue also. It is no longer necessary within the Movement of Non-Aligned countries to argue the centrality of this question in the struggle to ensure genuine liberation and social progress for our peoples.

The decisive importance of economic questions was recognised in the decisions of the 3rd Lusaka Summit and rightly took pride of place in the 4th Algiers Summit. Correctly, this Summit drew attention to the role of the multi-national corporations, including in its Economic Declaration this resolution:

"The Heads of State or Government denounce before the world public opinion the unacceptable practices of transnational companies which infringe the sovereignty of developing countries and violate the principles of non-interference and the right of people to self-determination which are basic prerequisites for their political, economic and social progress".

As we all know, the decisions of the Algiers Summit and the Lima Declaration adopted in August 1975 served as the collective platform of the UN General Assembly in 1974 and 1975 which resulted, among other things, in the adoption of two documents which are of great importance to the future of our peoples, namely, the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States.

We would like at this point, to pay our humble respects to a great African, an outstanding leader of the Movement, the late Houari Boumedienne, who worked so tirelessly to bring about the New International Economic Order. Our victories on this front will be a monument to his name, a tribute to a life dedicated to the upliftment of the children, the small men and small women of the world—the "wretched of the earth".

It is in the contrast with the intensified

struggle for an equitable international economic order, especially in the last 5 years, that the iniquity of the South African apartheid colonial economy stands out in sharp relief.

Within the context of the struggle for the democratic restructuring of international economic relations, our peoples are fighting to put an end to their dependent and subordinate status; to regain sovereignty over their natural resources; to abolish the privileged status of the imperialist powers in the world economy which, as pointed out in the Lima Declaration, are striving to reinforce their position by exploiting our peoples through unequal terms of trade, the export by the multinational corporations of the revenues of their subsidiaries in our countries, the charging and repatriation of exorbitant interest and other financial charges, and the supply of goods to our peoples at high monopoly prices.

Exactly during these 5 years when the Non-aligned Movement has been formu-



Delegates in session at the Summit

lating these demands and struggling for their realisation, the multinational corporations, identified at the 4th Summit as the enemies of the political, economic and social progress of our peoples, have been tightening their hold on our country.

Acting in concert with the white minority regime, these corporations have been further entrenching exactly the forms of economic relations with regard to our people which this Movement is determined to alter fundamentally. All recent and current measures undertaken by the apartheid regime in the sphere of economic life have the express intention of strengthening the old colonial and exploitative economic order. This was the purpose and the result of the much publicised Rickert and Wiehahn Commissions. It is the aim of the continued implementation of the Bantustan programme, and the much publicised idea of a constellation of puppet states which would be chained to the Pretoria regime. It is also the reason for the intensified campaign of removals of thousands of our people from the towns and cities and from their ancestral lands, and the deprivation of their South African citizenship.

We fight for a new international economic order because the privileged status of the imperialist powers in the world economy is resulting in the continued and accelerated impoverishment of our peoples and the all-round regression of our countries. In apartheid South Africa these tendencies have an impact on our people that is multiplied a number of times over because the political authority that has seized control of our country is itself a representative, a product, and an ally of the world economic forces that are responsible for the despoliation of our natural resources and the fruits of our labour.

As a result of these circumstances which ensure the multinational corporations unique and stupendous profits, as well as strengthen their monopoly positions on the world economy, any South African directory of companies reads like a virtual "who's who" of the leading industrial and financial institutions of the western world.

In this connection, it is important to note that far from the demands of developing

countries for an equitable restructuring of international economic relations being met, there is an inordinate transfer of resources to support and maintain the apartheid regime. Between 1972 and 1978 nearly 8 billion dollars went to buttress the apartheid economy through loans from western banks. Western countries have invested more in developing the manufacturing industry in South Africa than their total investment in similar enterprises on the entire African continent, and the transfer of all kinds of technology is on a still greater scale.

There can be no doubt that these transfers are not accidental but are a deliberate effort to strengthen apartheid South Africa at the expense of the developing countries, with the aim of enhancing our country's role as the spearhead of the imperialist powers and the multinational corporations, for the defeat of our efforts to establish the New International Economic Order.

Nowhere is the political and strategic motivation of western investment in apartheid more apparent than in the efforts to assist the regime to meet its oil needs. In 1976, West German banks, many of them state controlled, provided Pretoria's strategic oil fund with loans amounting to US\$140 million. By early this year, such loans had exceeded US\$440 million. The Governments of Britain, France and West Germany unhesitatingly provide export guarantee for equipment for the Sasol plants, facilities not easily extended to many developing countries.

It is against this background that the African National Congress hails the decision of Iran, freed from the Shah, to cut the supply of oil to South Africa, depriving the racist regime of 90% of its imported oil supplies. Likewise, the ANC salutes the Federal Republic of Nigeria which has acted firmly and decisively against oil companies acting in breach of Nigeria's policy. In the actions they have taken both these countries, member-states of the Non-Aligned Movement, have contributed to the victory of the South African liberation struggle and to the effectiveness of the Non-Aligned Movement. They have provided a dramatic example of the difference between rhetoric and action.



Comrade Castro receives President Tito of Yugoslavia

The people of Nicaragua, led by the Sandinista Movement, have scored an heroic victory against fascist domination and have promptly severed diplomatic relations with fascist South Africa. Nicaragua has become a worthy member of the Non-Aligned Movement. We greet the fraternal Nicaraguan people.

World wide support for the struggle for national liberation is a striking feature of international concern for justice, human dignity and peace. In turn national liberation movements feel a natural identity with the cause of liberation everywhere in the world. This explains the firm solidarity of the African National Congress with the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party against United States colonial domination, for self-determination and independence.

In entering into an agreement with the POLISARIO of Western Sahara and abrogating the contract with Spain, Mauritania has retrieved something of the otherwise battered honour and image of our continent. The infinitely just cause of the

people of Western Sahara will triumph.

The struggle of the fraternal Arab people of Palestine, led by PLO, will always be assured of the support of the African National Congress and the South African people. Likewise, we support the struggle of the island peoples of the Canaries, Belize, and Mayotte.

The African National Congress reiterates its solidarity with the Vietnamese people, whose 30 years struggle against French colonialism and United States imperialism constitutes one of the greatest chapters in the history of national liberation struggles, and welcomes the end of the agony brought on the Kampuchean people by the deposed Pol Pot regime.

The people of East Timor under the leadership of Fretilin, are fighting for self-determination and independence, the causes espoused by the Non-Aligned Movement. We express our solidarity with Fretilin.

In Southern Africa, the sister movements of the ANC, namely SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, are waging fierce struggles

for the liberation of Namibia and Zimbabwe respectively. Today the African National Congress congratulates the Patriotic Front on its admission to full membership of the Non-Aligned Movement, a status already enjoyed by SWAPO of Namibia. This ensures that the voice of the people of Zimbabwe will also be the voice of the millions represented in the Non-Aligned Movement. The African National Congress similarly congratulates all other new members, whose role in the Movement can only increase its international weight and advance the cause of unity and peace.

In South Africa, the national liberation struggle, developing within the very heart of the enemy camp, has assumed proportions and created a situation which the racist regime has described as a virtual state of war, particularly in the northern part of our country.

Confronted with this situation, the apartheid regime is engaged in activities which can only be described as running very hard but remaining on the spot.

Within the ruling group, the military establishment is taking over all positions of political authority in the illusory hope that this will help save the regime from destruction. The so-called information scandal on the other hand has exposed to the white population what the oppressed people have known for a long time: that the regime was bound to rely on open criminal activities to save itself since in any case the apartheid system is itself criminal.

The regime also finds itself compelled to accelerate its already discredited separate development and Bantustan programme, changing the language it is using to make this programme appear attractive, setting up all manner of advisory committees, all



Fidel Castro with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia

intended to salvage the political option that the enemy forced upon us, an option that has been rendered bankrupt by its consistent mass rejection by the people.

The perspective in South Africa is quite clear. It is one of a mounting offensive by the masses of our people waging political, economic and military battles. There is no way in which the enemy can stop this. But we know that the racists will seek to exact a high toll in the lives of our people. All the manoeuvring that he is engaged in is intended to increase his murderous power to slow down our progress to victory. Yet our victory is certain.

The support of the Socialist countries, like that of certain countries in Western Europe, particularly the Nordic community of states, has been indispensable in ensuring the rapid progress of the South African struggle. The ANC warmly acknowledges their support as also that of member states of the Non-Aligned countries, and of organisations and peoples in other parts of the world.

The countries of Southern Africa, especially those, such as Mozambique, Zambia, Angola and Botswana, who are frequently targets of armed aggression by the Rhodesian and South African fascist regimes, have made enormous sacrifices to ensure victory for the total liberation of Southern Africa. We re-iterate our call for concrete and effective support for all these countries to enable them to implement national development plans while con-

tinuing to give full support to the national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

In view of the growing and dangerous threat posed by the apartheid regime to the peace and security of Africa and the world, it becomes more urgent for the international community and in particular the Non-Aligned countries, to act decisively to eliminate this threat to mankind. The African National Congress has always maintained that the world community should impose comprehensive sanctions against the regime. Although these efforts have continuously been blocked and undermined by the Western powers, some of the countries represented at this 6th Summit are vigorously implementing the decisions of this body, the OAU and the United Nations General Assembly. We should like once again to cite the exemplary case of Iran and Nigeria in relation to the oil embargo.

It is our hope that the power of this Movement will express itself decisively in the effective isolation of the racist regimes of Southern Africa and determined support for the liberation movements fighting these regimes, as well as all peoples fighting colonialism, apartheid, racism, zionism and fascism.

A LUTA CONTINUA!

DECEMBER 16

HEROES' DAY

YEAR OF THE SPEAR



Mziwandile Piliso greets Ethiopian Head of State, Comrade Mengistu

Socialist Ethiopia

In September 1979 Socialist Ethiopia celebrated its 5th anniversary of the revolution which freed the country from feudal-capitalist relations. Hundreds of thousands of people from the 14 regions of the country represented the 30 million Ethiopian people. The military parade of soldiers and officers demonstrated not only the willingness of the people to protect and defend the gains of the revolution but their readiness to continue the course which has been charted by the Provisional Military Administrative-Council (PMAC).

Ethiopia has many problems and difficulties inherited from the feudal-bourgeois

regime of the past and also caused by the attacks inflicted by external enemies.

But the successes are impressive e.g. nationalisation of the land and a comprehensive agrarian reform (90 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture); nationalisation of banks, social security and main industries and the formation of democratic mass organisations such as the All Ethiopia Trade Union (AETU); the All Ethiopia Peasants Association (AEPA) and the urban dwellers' association, women's and youth organisations are in the process of being created. A party of the workers—a Marxist-Leninist party—is being formed.

Comrade Mziwandile Piliso, member of the National Executive Committee and of the Revolutionary Council of the ANC, led a three-man delegation of the ANC to Ethiopia to attend the 5th anniversary celebrations of the victorious Ethiopian revolution. He delivered a special message to the Ethiopian Head of State and Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), Mengistu Haile Mariam, from the President of the ANC, Comrade O.R. Tambo.

In receiving the representative of the African National Congress, Comrade Mzwai Piliso, Comrade Chairman Mengistu

assured him of Ethiopia's unflinching support to the ANC. He said Revolutionary Ethiopia will regard the problems of the ANC as that of her own, even though she has enemies and problems of her own.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu called on the ANC to keep up its sacrificial commitments and expressed confidence that victory shall come to ANC in the end.

Comrade Mzwai Piliso on his part expressed admiration for the success achieved by the Ethiopian Revolution and described it as exemplary for the entire African continent.

30 YEARS GDR

Message of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the G.D.R.

The founding of the German Democratic Republic on the 7th October 1949, marked a significant turning point in the history of the entire German people and, indeed, of the international anti-imperialist and peace movement of the peoples of the whole world. This important victory signified the defeat, for all times, of aggressive German militarism which within less than three decades had plunged mankind into two devastating world wars, resulting in the death of millions of peoples and the destruction of valuable social and cultural treasures of mankind.

The German Democratic Republic has, throughout the thirty years of its existence, been a symbol of international friendship and militant solidarity against imperialism and reaction. Being a member of the world socialist system, the German Democratic Republic has played its role, together with the first socialist country of the world, the Soviet Union, in strengthening the

progressive forces that stand guard over world peace and international security.

In the course of its thirty-year history, the German Democratic Republic has confronted and defeated attempts of aggression and subversion spearheaded by West German imperialism and its allies. Of particular significance was the collapse of the Hallstein Doctrine of West German revanchism which sought to isolate the G.D.R. from the international community and turn it into a vassal of West German imperialism. This victory marked an important stage in the development of international anti-imperialist solidarity headed by the Soviet Union, as it demonstrated the growing impotence of imperialist hegemony over the destinies of mankind.

The African National Congress and the oppressed people of South Africa have enjoyed and continue to enjoy the unqualified support and solidarity of the German Democratic Republic. This is clearly demonstrated by the existence in Berlin of an ANC Office with a diplomatic status. The invaluable assistance of the G.D.R. people and their leading vanguard,



ANC Delegation with the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Kampuchea

the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, has contributed immeasurably to the rapid growth of our revolutionary struggle against the most aggressive task force of imperialism in Southern Africa, the fascist apartheid regime.

In congratulating the G.D.R. people

on the occasion of the thirtieth Anniversary of their socialist state, we express our deep confidence that the relations of solidarity and friendship that bind our two peoples, will grow stronger reaching even newer and higher levels.

A shy, but ruthless Chief:

The Rand Daily Mail (13.9.79) had this to say about Chief Mphephu:

"Not even his most ardent admirers can describe Chief Patrick Ramaano Mphephu, 54, the man certain to be elected as Venda's first president, as an imposing figure.

He is physically small and shy and diffident in his dealings with journalists. His formal education is reported by official sources in Pretoria to have come to an end after Standard Five... he is inarticulate and awkward.

he has many—can deny that he has exhibited an extraordinary will to power over the past five years...

He has had himself proclaimed Paramount Chief, a rank which has no precedent in Venda history and which was reportedly resented by some chiefs.

He is a conservative who believes in chieftainship. But one wonders whether the institution of chieftainship is enhanced when a man is proclaimed Paramount Chief in terms of powers conferred on Venda by white men in Pretoria".

TRANSKEI

The racist South African government has always regarded the Transkei as its "show-piece" Bantustan, as the one Bantustan that seems both relatively big and largely of one piece—which can be presented as a "country" of its own. Therefore Verwoerd and later Vorster assiduously promoted the concept of the Transkei as a separate "nation" and it was the first bantustan to have "independence" thrust upon it in 1976.

However, far from gaining any international recognition for apartheid, the "launching" of the Transkei has been a complete failure. No country in the world has recognised it in the three years of its "existence".

The antics of the racist South African Government's puppets in the Transkei have not helped in the business of "selling" the Transkei to the world. After the disappointment of non-recognition following "independence" Kaiser Matanzima "broke off" diplomatic relations with South Africa in early 1978 in a desperate attempt to appear to the world as his own master. However this transparent ploy fooled no-one, and apart from a temporary diplomatic withdrawal the white South African senior officials running the administration, economy and other structures including the military and police remained in office. And of course, the South African racist government, quite unperturbed by this supposed "disloyalty" continued to provide the finance for 83% of the Transkei's annual budget.

In fact it was the attempt by former British MP Humphrey Berkely to sack some leading white South African civil servants in the Transkei that is reported to have been one of the major reasons why Chief Kaiser Matanzima got rid of Berkely. Berkely while an advisor to Matanzima is believed to have played a major role in the

Transkei's "break" with South Africa, because he felt this was necessary to win international recognition for the bantustan.

However the most important point about the "independence" of the Transkei is what it has meant to the people who live in this part of South Africa.

When one studies the bitter facts of life for the overwhelming majority, one can see that life has grown worse since "independence".

It is against the background of this reality that the present conflicts in the governing party of the Transkei can be understood. The past two years have seen a major split in the ruling Transkei National Party, the banning of independent newspapers and the continued detention not only of opponents, but also of leading members of the ruling party itself.

These arrests, detentions and trials reveal that the Matanzima brothers who now rule the Transkei, as "State President" and Prime Minister, are in deep trouble. This is primarily because of their long-standing and now fast growing unpopularity. Their gimmicks are clearly seen for what they are and more and more people are demonstrating their rejection of the Matanzimas and all they stand for.

It is against this background that the current trial of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo should be seen. Chief Dalindyebo represents and symbolises in present day Transkei the historical struggle of the African people against Bantu authorities and the Bantustans.

He has long been resented by the Matanzimas' as the major opposition figure in the Transkei (the last leader, Hector Ncokazi was recently prosecuted under the Transkei Public Security Act), and he is the cousin of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. He is being charged for 'undermining the

dignity of the State President" under both the Transkei Constitution Act and the Public Security Act.

Obviously Matanzima is staging the trial in an attempt to intimidate and silence the mounting opposition to his rule. However this clumsy plan is already backfiring badly. Deep alarm is being expressed in the Matanzima camp as huge crowds of Chief Dalindyebo's supporters demonstrate outside the court in Umtata. Furthermore the defence team is insisting that Nelson Mandela should be brought from Robben Island to give vital defence evidence, and that Winnie Mandela should be brought from her banishment in Bradtfort to give equally vital evidence.

At the same time as this trial is progressing it has also been reported that an official investigation is underway into financial corruption among senior bantustan officials

What are the facts of life in present day Transkei?

The single most traumatic effect of the Transkei's "independence" was that over 4 million people lost their South African citizenship in the process. This includes both those people living in the Bantustan and those living and working in the cities and farms of "white" South Africa. In fact, using official figures it is estimated that only 40% of people deemed to be Transkei citizens actually live in the Transkei.

The removal of citizenship apart from depriving 4 million people of their birthright, also gravely imperils the few remaining residence rights for Africans in South African cities under section 10 of the Urban Areas Act;

The Transkei has not escaped the ravages wrought on all reserves by the apartheid system. The government is trying to turn the great majority of the labour force into a migrant one, so that women, children and old and handicapped people are forced out of the cities of South Africa to the Transkei and other bantustans. Mass removals in terms of apartheid laws continue relentlessly and people have been forced into official rural resettlement camps in Bantustans throughout South Africa. In a survey in August 1974 a Transkei camp Ilinge, which was at one time part of the

Ciskei, The Sunday Post found that people there were starving and unemployment was very high. In this camp of 3,000 dwellings there was only one small factory which makes carpets and washing baskets, employing mainly handicapped people and women. Workers at the factory told the Sunday Post that they are paid a flat "slave wage" of R35 per month irrespective of experience or service. A number of the inhabitants of Ilinge are former Robben Island prisoners—in fact the place began as a "dumping ground" for former political prisoners.

As more and more people are forced into the bantustans, so the agricultural output falls on the overcrowded land. The population density in the Transkei (per hectare) was 47.2 in 1970 and had risen to 58.3 by the end of 1976, reflecting this increasing overcrowding. Although this was by no means the worst case (KwaZulu had a population density of 86.8 in 1976 and Qwa Qwa of 189.6), it is nevertheless staggeringly high. The comparable population density for the rest of South Africa is 13.7 (all population groups).

Increasingly the government is removing people from their land in the bantustans and replacing them with government agencies and white farmers who grow non-subsistence crops on a capitalist basis.

Thus more and more of the people in the Transkei are being reduced to a state of complete landlessness. This frequently means that people have no income at all either in cash or kind, and they usually cannot leave the bantustan. In a recent survey in various Transkei villages, it was found that 95% of all households had a cash income of under R50 per month, mainly from migrant workers' remittances, and that 50% of families had an income of under R12 a month.

It is against this background that one must see the big tax rises in the Transkei since independence. In the Transkei, following unauthorised expenditure over and above the 1976-77 budget, an immediate amendment was published to the Transkei Taxation Act allowing the President to raise a special new tax of R10 a year on everyone, plus alterations to livestock taxes. In the 1977-78 budget the Transkei





Destitute apart from their husbands, women in the Bantustans struggle to keep their families alive.

estimated that it would gain a total of R28.8 million to be raised purely from new taxes on income, huts, immovable property, a general levy and a new livestock tax.

The figures of how much was raised through these new taxes are not available. It is not possible that this amount could have been raised for the simple reason that many people in the Transkei are completely destitute. However these taxes have contributed to the destruction of thousands more small peasant farmers as they have

had to get rid of their livestock in order to try to meet the new taxes.

Meanwhile the people see before them the charade of a Bantustan parliament (where still today 75 of the 150 seats are filled by government nominees) governed by a small group of traitors who, because of their collaboration, live in comfort and luxury.

No wonder Matanzima has to detain, and imprison all those who oppose him in a vain attempt to evade the storm which is gathering around him

MAKANA

This article first appeared in Dawn, the monthly journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe.



*Lo nguMakhanda Nxele kaGwala!
UQoqwekeda phezulu, uMkhont'atungeni!
Iquthu likaTayi, — Iquth' elingxase.
Wafel' esiQithini, eKopa.*

The mentioning of the name of Makana is enough to evoke that strong sense of unremitting and relentless struggle against domination, oppression and racism. Makanda Nxele (the left handed) or Makana

the prophet as many, prefer to call him, in his days symbolised unity, patriotism and lived to demonstrate the sacred qualities needed in any freedom fighter; sacrifice and an abundant love for humanity as well as peace. He was a man who, seeking freedom from his people, realised the need to be in the forefront to give guidance. Practical action, shining example and consistency in the course of the people's resistance were qualities so mixed in him that even his adversaries were forced to respect him as well as fear him.

The story of Nxele as commonly known by his contemporaries, has become a storehouse and a treasure more especially to us South African revolutionaries. In him we are called to emulate the resolute stand in the struggle we are waging against the intrigues of colonialism and imperialism. We are called upon to know the enemy and how he operates in his bid to hold our people under perpetual domination, ignominy and disgrace, that is, through our kith and kin, through men who have lost their souls, men who are prepared to sell the nation in return for small favours, villains and turn coats like Ngqika.

On reading the text of Makana's history, we at once find that in the struggle of man against domination, social revolutions that take place for reasons of introducing a new social order in the interests of the people, there will always be those who collaborate on the side of reaction, whose dirty work seek to delay the process of attaining genuine freedom. Revolutions in Russia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and elsewhere, bear enough testimony to this for we can cite as examples enemies of the people like Trotsky, the Holden

Robertos and Savimbis, the Muzorewas and the Makiwanes who like Ngqika in Makana's days have clearly identified themselves with the enemy against the people. The defeat at Grahamstown on the morning of the 23rd April, 1819, does not suggest the weakness of our people, neither does it point at the paucity of the strategy and tactics employed by Makana, instead it points to the dazzling bravery of our people who with only spears in hand took the fort at Grahamstown by such a storm that a countless number of settlers were left lifeless, several hundred mortally wounded. The resultant driving away of Makana and Ndlambe's forces, therefore, was an event made possible only by the fact that the British wielded superior weapons. The advantage the British enjoyed, failed, however to vanquish the indomitable spirit of Makana and the people whom he welded into an indestructible unity, his men displayed tremendous courage, bravery and unity of action as well as of purpose.

The barbarism and sadism of the British under the command of colonel Willshire which manifested itself in the raids carried into the territory of Ndlambe's people resulting in indispicable massacres of the people and stealing of cattle, forced Makana to hand himself to the British authorities in an effort to stop the senseless killing of innocent people and to bring peace and calm. The British astonished by the fearlessness of Makana who chose to sacrifice himself, rather than have his life spared and have the people exterminated, locked him in Robben Island together with some of his followers. This was despite appeals by his councillors to have him released and them arrested instead. This too is evidence enough to demonstrate the place Makana occupied amongst our people.

In Robben Island with some of his followers and other prisoners in that dingy dungeon, Makana emerges to be the undisputable leader, whose qualities were never changed, whose spirit was never dampened and deterred by conditions imposed upon him and his people by the treachery of those who usurped their land and were now enforcing their rule over the people. His life ended on the 25th December, 1819, when he drowned mar-

shalling and urging his men to swim on to the shore. Makana died a hero, a life dedicated to the service of our people. His name has been inscribed in the book of our martyrs and shall serve as an example for generations to come.

One of Makana's greatest credits is his attempts to unite the Xhosas in their struggle against the common enemy. His story brings to light the importance of unity in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. If our people did not fight as small units, but as one united nation, they could have vanquished the enemy. It is in the light of this factor that the African National Congress on its formation sought the unity of all nationalities in South Africa. There remains no doubt, therefore, why today the organisation of the people, true to the principles of unity, entered into a democratic alliance with other national organisations fighting the demon of minority rule, racism and discrimination. Our people have come to realise the strength that lies in unity. Our organisation has always been and continues to be prepared at all times to join hands with all those who are for the progress of the people and who cherish liberty.

Our fighters, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, have on more than one occasion shown that great defiant spirit of Makana, for they have chosen to sacrifice their only precious possession, life, which is given but once. They also have dictated to us that a life well lived, a life with no regrets is a life spent in pursuit of love, peace and freedom. Mini, Mkhaba, Khayinga and Mahlangu—just like Makana are therefore the torch-bearers in our bitter but just struggle, let us then follow their shining example by giving over everything, including our lives, for the victory of our cause, for freedom and human dignity.

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE PEOPLE'S MARTYRS!

**THEIR CAUSE IS A LIVING ONE!
OUR HEROES LIVE ON!**

Edwin Diale



WORKERS' STRUGGLE

Ukubamba Amadolo—Workers' Struggles in the South African Textile Industry, by Bettie Du Toit. Onyx Press 1978

This is a trade union story. A tale about ordinary men and women who make trade unions 'tick'. We are made familiar with the daily battles in the textile industry. We see how against the combined might of the employers and the colonialist state the workers strike blows to ease the burden of their grinding poverty and brutal exploitation—against seemingly impossible odds. We learn of the great costs in human endeavour, resources and sacrifices to win a few simple demands—overalls, a tea break, a paid holiday and a few pence increase in wages.

The book goes back 45 years to the formation of the textile workers' union and a long strike by white women over the loss of a day's pay for a holiday they did not want. From the start of the story what emerges is the necessity for workers' unity in the industrial battle field. It is certainly not an accident that the union named its journal Textile Unity which sought to unite all workers without discrimination as to race or sex, (page 81). The journal came into being after the formation of the African Textile Workers' Union in 1951.

Of particular interest is the African Textile Workers' Union which right from the day of its founding got off the mark by hitting the textile bosses hard in the major industries through militant strikes. In spite of the seemingly impossible odds of the employer-state alliance and set-backs in industrial battles the African Textile Workers Union had some remarkable victories. Here we learn of four wage agreements which the African Textile Workers Union, in its own right as an

African union, forced the bosses to concede.

The union had hardly marked its second anniversary when the colonialist state sought to put it out of existence in 1953 by banning its main leaders for life from all trade union activity. But these and other successive bannings did not succeed in crushing the union. Thus it was determined that the union would be smashed in open battle by a militarised police action and administrative measures. The police aggression took place at Amato Textile Mills in 1958, at Benoni.

Some 4,000 African workers at Amato Textile Mills were well united and militant and had forced a relatively good agreement from the employers. They had struck in 1951, 1955, 1956 and 1958. It was in 1958 that the militarised police action brutally baton charged the strikers. The press reproduced photos of the workers, most with head wounds, being treated by doctors, (page 89). Following this police aggression hundreds of the most active trade union members were endorsed out of Benoni. But, as the book shows, the last word had not been spoken. Textile workers continued to battle elsewhere. We get a clear picture of the mass strikes in Durban in 1973 and 1974 in which textile workers were very much to the fore.

An interesting fact about the African Textile Workers' Union is that it had the seeds of a united non-racial trade union. We learn that at Ladysmith the Indians joined the African Union. Also the general secretary invited the few white women there to join but they refused, but nevertheless the door remained open to them. Coloured workers at Amato Textile Mills in Benoni and Good Hope Textile Mills in Kingwilliamstown also belonged to the African Union.

This is only a story about the battles of

textile workers. Other unions, too, have written proud and glorious chapters in the history of the South African working class. This has to be mentioned for the reader may get the impression that the textile workers, and in particular the African textile workers, fought alone and in isolation.

In 1952 strikes by African textile workers were greatly influenced by the Defiance Campaign. The refusal of strikers in Kingwilliamstown to take bail after being arrested was not simply a trade union tactic but very much related to the Defiance Campaign. The first defiers courting imprisonment in Kingwilliamstown did so after the outbreak of the strike. No doubt their action was influenced by the strike. The Defiance Campaign complemented the strikes and the strikes complemented the Defiance Campaign.

Many leading members of the African Textile Workers' Union were also Congress militants and were active in the Defiance Campaign. One such leader was Caleb Mayekiso, later murdered by the fascist police while in detention. While serving a three months sentence for defying unjust laws he sent a message from his prison cell to the African Textile Workers' Union. Another such leader was Wilton Mkwai—Volunteer-in-Chief of the Defiance Campaign. We read that the union's general secretary and three members courted imprisonment by defying unjust laws. It would certainly be a safe bet to say that hundreds of textile workers responded to the call of the Defiance Campaign.

A valuable asset to the book is Wilton Mkwai's speech from the dock when he was sentenced to life imprisonment for his activity in the underground armed liberation struggle.

We also see the ties of the textile workers to the national and social liberation struggle in the fact that the African and registered Textile Workers' Unions were foundation members of the South African Congress of Trade Unions formed in 1955 as an integral part of the national liberation

front headed by the African National Congress. As the book states the textile workers are proud of this.

One cannot agree with the conclusion of the author Bettie Du Toit that the only effective means open to black workers is the use of the 'go slow' strike. This is but one form of struggle and must be linked to all other forms of battle legal, semi-legal and underground. At the point of production the non-racial revolutionary trade unions have to adopt their strategy, tactics and methods according to the prevailing conditions at any given time and any given place. As an integral part of the national and social liberation movement the revolutionary trade unions, united in SACTU, gear their activities to accord with the armed struggle led by the African National Congress for a seizure of power by the people and for the liquidation of the aggressor colonialist state. It is necessary for the revolutionary trade unions, as the mass organisations of the workers, to carry out their activity in co-ordination with and under the direction of the African National Congress.

Bettie Du Toit, who modestly puts her own significant role in the struggles of the textile workers very much in low key, is to be congratulated in bringing out this book. It places on record industrial battles and trade union experiences which otherwise would have been lost. This book is a must for those who occupy themselves with questions of South Africa's trade unions and its working class. The tale emphasises the need for a comprehensive up-to-date history of workers struggle at the point of production in our beloved country.

B.S.A.

THE DESERTER

Like a snake
you crawled out
last night
under the sheet of darkness
With your empty manhood
leading us behind

You kept on running
stumbling
shifting glances
looking back
fearing your shadows.

You ran into
the bottom of a ditch
With your head down
on your own.

James Pitse



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